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A RÉSUMÉ OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AMONG THE AMERICAN INDIANS

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For three centuries after the voyages of Columbus, Europe was tremendously concerned about the American red man. This interest was commercial, imperialistic, and religious. Spain, France, and England successively expected to grow rich from the fabulous treasures of the New World. Each dreamed of a Western empire which would furnish the military strength for the domination of the Old World. And the spiritual conquest of the Indian, both in the interest of church power and for the salvation of the savage soul, was the professed purpose of each royal government.

With the Spanish exploring expeditions went Franciscans and Dominicans to convert the natives. The adventurers in charge of the voyages, coarse and brutal though they often were, were so zealous in their missionary propaganda that moderate priests sometimes felt compelled to protest against conversion by physical force. The progress of the church was spectacular in Florida, New Mexico, and California. Crosses were set up, the Indians were coerced into a crass order of worship, flourishing missions were established, thousands were baptized. But so far as the permanent results within the present area of the United States are concerned the Spanish policy ended in ignorance and rebellion.

The romantic record of France in North America contains elements of nobility and success. Few pages of American history are more crowded with valiant sacrifice than those which recount the sympathetic and unwearied devotion of Recollets and Jesuits to the Indians of the St. Lawrence Basin and the Mississippi Valley. Not much real progress was made toward giving the Indians an intelligent idea of religion, however; too much of the monks' time was spent in surreptitiously sprinkling baptismal water upon dying infants. But the intention of the government

was realized by these ecclesiastical soldiers: the Indians among whom they lived became defenders of French empire in America against the English, and they likewise became immovable adherents of the Roman church. The French missions were administered primarily for the church and the state and incidentally for the Indians.

Protestant England added her official interest in the Indians to that of Catholic Spain and France. Anglicanism was waging a bitter battle against Romanism at home and on the Continent. There was malice and grim sincerity in the professions of English rulers who longed for the conversion of the Indians to the Protestant faith. The voyages of exploration during the last years of the sixteenth century almost invariably took account of the glorious prospect of saving the savage from heathenism. The supporters of the Virginia Company on both sides of the ocean repeatedly spoke and wrote of their dominant aim as being that of bringing the Indians into the Church of England. But almost nothing was done. In Virginia there was a sincere movement for the establishment of the University of Henrico which should furnish instruction for "the children of the infidels," but the pitiless massacre of whites in 1622 brought on a policy of relentless severity toward the natives and extinguished all zeal for the salvation of the red men. It was toward the close of the century before this interest was revived in the founding of the College of William and Mary. The missionary impulse in America did not come from the Established Church. It awaited the coming of the Pilgrim.

Both Plymouth Pilgrims and Massachusetts Bay Puritans put the missionary motive to the forefront in their plans for emigration and colonization. Charters were granted upon this basis, funds were raised through this argument, and the sincerity of the settlers was evidenced in the Massachusetts seal which shows the figure of an Indian crying out the Macedonian appeal: "Come over and help us." But despite the fact that one of the major reasons for the emigration of the Leyden Separatists was the desire to convert the Indians, and notwithstanding the emphasis placed upon this duty by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, no special effort was made to carry out this purpose for about twenty years. This delay

caused surprise and grief in England and it also perplexed the red man. One of the Indians later questioned Eliot, inquiring why it was that some of the whites had been among them for twenty-eight years and no effort had been made to instruct them in the knowledge of God. "Had you done it sooner, said hee, wee might have known much of God by this time, and much sin might have been prevented, but now some of us are grown old in sin." Mayhew was similarly rebuked by a native who "wondered the English should be almost thirty years in the Country, and yet the Indians fools still."¹

Indian missions in the seventeenth century were conducted largely by the Catholics and Congregationalists. The Lutherans in New Sweden were not unmindful of the opportunity which they faced and the government encouraged missionary labors. But the results were small and the enterprise was unorganized. Roger Williams occupied himself from the beginning in learning the Indian language, and, although the chiefs of the Narragansetts were hostile to Christianity, they tolerated Williams because of their affection for him. He made some impression upon them and would probably have been very effective had he devoted his life to missionary labors among them. Henry Dunster, a Baptist, was responsible for the statement in the second charter of Harvard which defined the object of the college as being for "the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness."² But the outstanding missionary of the seventeenth century was the great apostle, John Eliot.

The gross ignorance of the Indians and the vices into which unscrupulous whites had drawn them wrenched the heart of the pastor of the church at Roxbury. Immediately he saw their situation he determined that the responsibility for their improvement was upon him. Patiently he applied himself for two years to the task of learning their language, and on one October Sunday in 1646 he preached his first sermon to them. He did not lack an

¹ Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking Forth Upon the Indians in New-England* (London, 1648), pp. 24 f.; Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts* (London, 1727), p. 80.

² A. H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York, 1894), pp. 144 f.

audience; the service had been well advertised, and the Indians then as now were much like the Athenians of Paul's day: they had little to do save to hear some new thing. Every two weeks he went among them, preaching, catechizing, and answering questions. Psychology, religious education, and sociology today unite in saying that the Indians should have been treated as children and that the message should have been simple and couched in the story form. But Eliot lived in the day of logical Calvinism; the message of the New England pulpit was theological; this was the only gospel. Over and over again in sermon and prayer and catechism Eliot preached the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, the total depravity of man, the redemption which must come through Christ, and the joys and tortures of the future state. His first sermon lasted an hour and a quarter, and during the course of it he explained the Ten Commandments, he elucidated the doctrine of redemption, he gave an account of how Christ will come to judge the world in flaming fire, and he painted a picture of the bliss of heaven and the terrors of hell. He concluded, as he says, "with a doleful description . . . of the trembling and mourning condition of every soul that dies in sinne, and that shall be cast out of favour with God."¹ This note was reiterated persistently. It is not to be expected that the Indians caught the significance of much of the New England theology, but it is not difficult to believe that a vivid portrayal of the everlasting writhings of the wicked would light the emotional fires within these primitive folk. The appeal to fear and the threat to withhold luxuries and comforts in the next world evoked tears and questions and won converts. A church was gathered just as soon as the elders of the neighboring churches would allow it. It took a half-dozen meetings to convince these conservative English brethren that red men could be white enough within to be members of Congregational churches. But no church in New England was more careful in admitting members than that of the Indians; none disciplined its unworthy members more severely, and none tried to follow the biblical model more minutely. Eliot's own expression upon this point is full of wisdom: "wee have

¹ John Eliot, *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell* (London, 1647), pp. 8 f.

not learnt as yet that art of coyning Christians, or putting Christs name and Image upon copper mettle.”¹

All of life was included in Eliot's plan for their civilization. He taught them to build fences, to grow better crops, to produce new vegetables and fruits, to market them among the whites, to learn industries and arts, and to become educated in such book knowledge as was available. He translated a vast amount of literature into their heretofore unprinted language, and the amount published is adequate proof of their interest in it. It was part of the apostle's plan to remove the Christian Indians from those who persisted in their wild way of living and to settle them in villages of their own modeled after the English towns. The land for these communities of “praying Indians” was furnished by the General Court of Massachusetts. When the red men established their local government they copied that of the whites, and their blue laws were as stringent as those of the English Puritans. The Christian institutions were highly respected; the sanctification of the Sabbath was carried almost to the point of Pharisaical legalism.

A question much discussed concerns the loyalty of these Indians to the English during King Philip's War. Eliot's assertion that the Christian Indians were true to the English cause is supported by three English commanders who testified that some of the praying Indians were in the English army and were “faithful to English interest.”² It is certain that a large number of innocent Indians in the Christian communities were persecuted. King Philip killed some of them for betraying his designs; some fell in battle on the side of the English; some were executed by the Massachusetts colony as suspected accomplices of Philip; and some were victims of a warfare waged against Indians indiscriminately. The catastrophe was a great grief to Eliot but he kept lovingly at his work. It was a matter which required a brave decision: should these Indians join their fellow-countrymen who had grievances against the foreigners, or should they be disloyal to their brothers in blood and fight for those who had brought them some little

¹ John Eliot, *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell* (London, 1647), pp. 8 f.

² *Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, II, 524.

gleams of civilization? Some of the evangelized Indians turned against flesh and blood and fought for the English—and this was a result of Eliot's labor of love.

The eighteenth century saw a decline in missionary enthusiasm, due largely to the continuous European wars. Both France and England were now much concerned in employing the Indians in military campaigns in the hope of settling European quarrels on American soil. But even during these troublesome days financial support for the missionaries came from loyal friends in England and Scotland, and notable services were rendered a number of tribes by representatives of various denominations. Peter Folger established two Baptist churches in Massachusetts, one on Martha's Vineyard and one on Nantucket. David Jones toured the country of the Delawares and Shawnees under the auspices of the Philadelphia Baptist Association but left nothing "but a pathetic story of fruitless devotion."¹ One of the motives which led the Anglican church to establish the Society for Propagating the Gospel was that of converting the Indians, and during the eighteenth century work was carried on among the Iroquois, the Oneidas, and among the scattered tribes of New England, South Carolina, and Georgia. The Presbyterians made their great contribution in the lives of the Brainerds and Samson Occom, men who belong in the same class with the great Eliot. The story of the Moravians is one of zeal and suffering in situations which presented unusual difficulties. Their activity covered fields as far apart as Canada, Georgia, and Pennsylvania and Ohio. Until the close of the eighteenth century the work of the Friends was confined chiefly to the development of kindly relations, the protection of the natives from the wrongs of the whites, and preaching by individuals. Quaker leaders preached to them whenever opportunity afforded, and few denominations can claim so clean and useful a record in the sphere of Indian relations as can the Society of Friends. No organized work was undertaken by them until the very close of the century. It was in 1795 that the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting appointed its first standing committee

¹ A. L. Vail, *The Morning Hour of American Baptist Missions* (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 160-66.

on Indians, and this committee has been continued ever since.¹ Samuel Hopkins, John Sergeant, Jonathan Edwards, and others wrought the beginnings of the famous Stockbridge mission which ministered to the natives first in Massachusetts and which then followed them on their removals to New York, Indiana, and Wisconsin.

Unique in its character was the undertaking of Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, of Lebanon, Connecticut. His plan for an Indian school developed somewhat accidentally. Feeling the pinch of a small salary Wheelock began taking in students who desired the services of a tutor. Samson Occom was among those who studied in the pastor's home, and the growing fame and usefulness of this Mohegan inspired his teacher with the hope of doing something on a large scale for the red men. His plan included the thought of preparing Indian boys for missionary service among their own tribesmen. And the girls were not to be neglected, for they were to receive education in the practical arts so as "to go and be with these Youth, when they shall be hundreds of Miles distant from the English on the Business of their Mission."² Thus Wheelock anticipated the popular theory of the next century, that native teachers have greater possibilities of usefulness than do the whites, provided that they have been properly educated.

Wheelock and his friends secured the indorsement of ministers of various denominations in America and also received encouragement from the colonial governments. But they received little else. For financial support they must look to England; the English had always responded well to appeals in behalf of the Indians. Samson Occom made a tour of the mother-country in the interest of the school and a goodly sum was procured for the enterprise. Financial success brought a change in the scheme of education. The idea enlarged, the scope of the school expanded, and soon it was no longer a semi-private undertaking to be conducted by Wheelock for the preparation of native missionaries. A college it must be, and Dartmouth College it became, with the Indian school a subordinate factor. The results of Wheelock's work were not wholly

¹ R. W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917* (Philadelphia, 1917), p. 92.

² Eleazar Wheelock, *A Plain and Faithful Narrative* (Boston, 1763), p. 15.

heartening; some of his students disappointed him, and even Occom had a moral lapse or two which brought discredit upon the missionary and his school. But beginnings had been made of a substantial character among the Senecas and others of the Six Nations which constituted the foundation for the successful labors of the American Board during the next century. One cannot help regretting that the original purpose of Wheelock's school was so largely lost sight of. Had the little Indian school been able to continue, with modest reinforcements of money and with a more efficient administration, New England might have had a specialized training school of native workers supplying leaders for the great missionary societies of the nineteenth century.

The first quarter of the new century was the era of organization. Missionary societies of all sorts sprang up and prospered: young men's societies, female cent societies, children's societies, denominational societies, non-sectarian societies, city societies, state societies, national societies, home missionary societies, and foreign missionary societies. There were at least three major reasons for this new interest in organization. In the first place, the great societies of England had but recently come into being and the periodicals of the day were full of the enthusiastic plans and the romantic achievements of these British institutions. It was not only a desire for imitation, although there was still a keen jealousy of everything British, but the New Englanders and their neighbors were filled with an awakened ambition to accomplish the seemingly impossible for the kingdom. A second explanation is found in the religious fervor of this period, which was a second reaction from the Revolutionary War; a period of religious apathy had followed this conflict, but this was succeeded by the zeal of the Second Great Awakening. Moreover, a large number of families were emigrating from New England and the south to the wild stretches of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the home churches were not blind to their responsibility in establishing religious centers in the frontier country. Almost without exception the home missionary societies were instituted with the double purpose of caring for the English-speaking emigrants and for ministering to the Indians throughout the entire land; almost without exception

the foreign societies were organized with the double purpose of converting the heathen abroad and saving the savages at home. The two institutions of widest influence (because they were inter-denominational in character) were the American Home Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. For sixty years ministers, physicians, farmers, mechanics, male and female teachers, and native workers were commissioned by the American Board to carry Christianity and general civilization to the Cherokees and Choctaws of the southland, the Six Nations of New York state, the Chippewas and Sioux of Wisconsin and Minnesota, the tribes of the Northwest Pacific Coast, and scattered groups of the interior.

The first field cultivated by the board was that of the Cherokees, and the results here were most heartening. Not only were conversions and additions to the church numerous and the patronage given the schools very liberal, but the entire state of social life was raised to a level almost incredible. Leaders were developed among the tribesmen who became wise lawmakers and executives and who served efficiently as missionaries among their own race. It was among the Cherokees that the devotion of the missionaries was most severely tested.

As Georgia became more thickly settled by whites there was a growing desire to eject the Cherokees from their ancestral domain. One party of Indian politicians was ready to enter into an agreement to move westward, but the majority of the Cherokees had no disposition to leave the land which had fond associations for them. After the Cherokees had established a government of their own which superseded the tribal state, a government founded upon a written constitution, Georgia became increasingly hostile. Both state and national governments employed high-handed methods in order to expel the natives. Almost all of the missionaries counseled the Indians to use every means to resist the aggression of the whites, and this aroused a storm of anger against the Christians. Georgia went as far as to pass a law forbidding missionary activity among the Indians, and when the agents of the American Board refused to obey this statute they were arrested, brutally imprisoned and maltreated, brought to trial, and sentenced to four years of hard

labor in the penitentiary. Dr. Butler, describing his trip to jail, wrote: "I then had a large trace chain fastened about my neck by a padlock and the opposite end fastened to a rope tied round the neck of a horse. The distance between my neck and the horse was probably not over four and a half feet. Mr. Tippan rode the horse and I was made to keep up with him in a fast walk." In this way he plodded through mud and water and woods so that he was wet to the knees and hardly able to stand up. Then the chain was lengthened a little and he was allowed to ride behind Tippan. When he retired he was chained by the ankle to the bedstead.¹

The action of the missionaries in disobeying the Georgia law brought upon them much criticism. Their stand was taken, however, upon the principle that no state had a right to prohibit American citizens from living within its boundaries. Their support of the claims of the Cherokees was based upon the belief that a weak people should not be taken advantage of by a stronger power. Looking back from today one is inclined to say that the removal was necessary for the development of the country, but even this backward look would seem to be a justification of the Treitschke philosophy, particularly when the Indians were cultivating the land and were building a civilization of high character. There are certainly elements in the missionaries' position which resemble the principles upon which the United States entered the world-war.

In May, 1823, the military forces began the work of removing the Cherokees. Fourteen companies of about a thousand each started, making the journey through Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas. The distance was six or seven hundred miles, and since most of the travelers made the trip on foot it required from three and a half to five and a half months. Over four thousand died en route, an average of thirteen to fifteen a day, or a fourth of the entire population. The missionaries did not charge this heavy mortality to neglect or maltreatment but rather to the unfitness of the physiques of the Indians for the new climates. Such a removal naturally caused a decline in morality and ambition, but be it said to the honor of the Christian Indians and to the

¹ J. H. Payne, "Traditions of the Cherokees" (unpublished; original manuscript in the Newberry Library, Chicago), Vol. V.

credit of the missionaries that almost no church members were backsliders.

The record of other denominations is similar to that of the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and reformed churches which were associated in the work of the American Board. It is a record first of unorganized efforts and then of church boards or societies. The difficulties encountered were much the same, although the local conditions, the stage of civilization of the particular tribe, the attitude of the chieftains, and the vision and preparation of the missionaries had determinative influence in the success or failure of the enterprise. It was the preaching of John Stewart to the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, which led to the formation of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church which later developed into the Board of Home Missions and the Board of Foreign Missions. The Methodists were among the first to begin operations among the Oregon Indians, the vanguard of the mission arriving on the Lower Columbia in 1834. Rev. Jason Lee recognized that before progress could be made these Indians must be taught to work, so his plan of education included half a day's study and half a day of farm labor, "thus anticipating by a half century General Armstrong's wise method of civilizing the red man."¹

First through the Massachusetts Missionary Society and the New York Baptist Missionary Society, then through the Baptist General Convention, and then through the American Baptist Missionary Union, the Northern Baptists engaged in missionary labors covering a wide extent of territory and touching a large number of tribes. Isaac M'Coy was one of the most useful and far-sighted of the Baptist agents. In 1817 he received appointment as missionary to Indiana and Illinois, with instructions to be of all possible service to the Indians within his territory. M'Coy developed an interest in the red men which led him to devote his main efforts to them at a time when the Baptist Board was not much concerned with the Indians. The unsettled state of the tribes, the frequent removals demanded by the government, and the vicious sins brought on by close contact with whites convinced M'Coy that

¹ J. W. Bashford, *The Oregon Missions* (New York, 1918), p. 152.

there was no hope for permanent salvation as long as the Indians lived in regions fast filling up with white settlers. "At this time, June, 1823, I formed the resolution that I would, Providence permitting, thenceforward keep steadily in view, and endeavour to promote a plan for colonizing the natives in a country to be made for ever theirs, west of the State of Missouri, &c., and from that time until the present I have considered the promotion of this design as the most important business of my life."¹ So it was that this Baptist labored as faithfully to promote removal as the American Board missionaries did to hinder government projects for transfer to the West. The latter opposed western colonization because the Indians opposed it; M'Coy favored it because he saw it as the only hope for permanent settlement.

In 1795 the "corporate phase" of the Quaker missions began. The purpose of Indian missionary work was conceived by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting as being for instruction "in husbandry, and useful trades; and teaching their children necessary learning that they may be acquainted with the Scriptures of truth, improve in the principles of Christianity, and become qualified to manage temporal concerns; and it is expected that the Committee will find it expedient to erect Grist and Saw Mills, Smith's shops and other necessary improvements in some of their villages."² The influence of the Philadelphia body eventually reached to the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, Wyandots, Potawatomies, Ottawas, and Chippewas. The New England Yearly Meeting turned its attention chiefly to the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes in Maine. These tribes had come under Catholic influence very early, however, and success here was very limited. Both the Baltimore Yearly Meeting and that of Ohio were interested in educational work among the Shawnees, and when the Indians moved from Ohio to Kansas the Friends followed them. The slavery agitation in Kansas hampered the efforts of the Friends who had won the enmity of the pro-slavery element, and the school was closed in 1856. It was later reopened but the interest was too small and the difficulties too great to warrant a continuation of the work.

¹ Isaac M'Coy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (New York, 1840), p. 197.

² Kelsey, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

The status of missions in 1852 is indicated in the following table:

	Ordained Missionaries	Male Assistants	Female Assistants	Native Assistants	Communicants
Moravians.....	4	1	3		80
American Board.....	22	13	57	7	1,749
American Baptist Union.....	8	2	9	10	1,370
Methodist Missionary Society.....	12	3		7	1,107
Episcopal Board.....	1				169
Presbyterian Board.....	9	13	20	1	69
American Indian Missionary Association.....	9	1	12	5	1,320
Methodist South Missionary Society.....	24			7	4,003
American Missionary Association...	2	5	7	1	7
Missouri Lutheran Synod.....	3				
Total.....	94	38	108	38	9,964*

**Missionary Herald*, XLVIII, 123.

The period of the Civil War was a disastrous one for Indian missions. The glamor and romance of it had worn off and the keen interest which characterized the first quarter of the century had perceptibly diminished. Moreover, the difficulties encountered in many fields had led missionary societies to feel that their limited resources were often better invested in foreign fields, where there seemed to be a permanent opportunity. The Indians were believed to be a dying race. Naturally the work of northern societies was brought to a stop in the south when hostilities began, and the war days made such heavy demands upon the populace that no increase of effort was undertaken among northern tribes. The summary of statistics for North American Indians, Greenland, and Labrador (1870) tells the tale:

	Missionaries	Native Preachers	Communicants
American Board.....	7	11	788
Presbyterian Board.....	5		235
Southern Presbyterian.....	4	3	
Episcopal Board.....	1	5	300
Methodist Board	11	23 (?)	1,000
Southern Baptist.	5		
Total.....	33	42	2,323*

* It will be noticed that this summary is not complete in that the Southern Methodists are omitted. This is the only large omission, however, and the decline in power of the missions is very evident (*Missionary Herald*, LXVI, 310).

The American Board by this time had ceased to be the great Indian agency. In 1870 the New School Presbyterians withdrew from the organization and left it entirely in Congregational hands, the work of the New School now being combined with the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. By 1883 there was only one mission left to the American Board and in this year it transferred the Sioux Mission to the American Missionary Association, which since that time has had charge of all of the Indian interests of the Congregational church. Although inter-denominationalism had now disappeared from the Indian field, there came in a new method of denominational co-operation which has continued to the present day. President Grant's policy, for the promulgation of which the Society of Friends takes some credit,¹ provided that rivalry and duplication of work should cease. The various tribes were apportioned among the denominational societies. This plan has proved successful in the main, although the Catholics and Episcopalians refuse to co-operate on this basis and maintain their churches wherever it seems profitable. Under the administration of President Hayes the Friends were relieved of some of their fields, Mr. Hayes evidently lacking confidence in this body of Christians. In 1879 the Friends resigned all responsibility to the government for the management of the Indians, but later the largest work in the history of the denomination was begun under the direction of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs. The usual situation today is that there are among the Indians in each district not more than three denominational missions, the Catholic, the Episcopal, and one free Protestant church.

Each tribe, to be sure, presented its own unique problems. Still it is possible to summarize briefly some of the difficulties which hindered progress all along the way. There were four major obstacles; two were internal and two external. Tribal warfare dated back for generations, and no sooner would a hopeful work be begun among the Sioux than the entire tribe left all of its interests to give battle to its inveterate enemies, the Chippewas. From the day of Eliot down, the strongest foe within a tribe was the medicine man or the powwow. It was the old, old story of the

¹ Kelsey, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

priest fearing the loss of his power, and the powwows threatened death and perpetual terror to the families of those who forsook their ancestral superstitions and served the God of the white man. But no one influence was more detrimental to religious success than the low living of many of the white frontiersmen. These were the men who smuggled liquor to the Indians; they were the ones who encouraged robbery and deceit and introduced terrible vices among the tribes; their hostility to the missionaries was often open and malicious. The Indian thought that all whites were Christians, and, he reasoned, were we not better off before these white Christians came among us? All of our woes are due to them. We'll have none of their religion. And the fourth hindrance came from the United States government, which was constantly negotiating treaties and sometimes using force with the idea of moving the Indians farther and farther west. The removals were seldom far enough to insure a permanent abode. No sooner was the missionary work established than a new removal was necessary. The natives' minds were kept unsettled by the disputes about removal. The Indians always accused the government of violating its contracts with them. They came, as a result, to be suspicious of all whites, believing them to be emissaries of the Great Father at Washington, and the missionaries almost despaired of lasting results as long as the uncertainty of location existed.

The difficulties today can hardly be said to be the same. Intertribal warfare is gone under the paternalism of the United States, and the powwows are not so effective among the more civilized groups of Indians. The danger of removal is not disturbing them, and even the white neighbors are not so bad as they once were. The troubles now are of two kinds. One is the Indian character. The red man is not thrifty, ambitious, or judicious. He does not take care of himself; disease rages in spite of continued teaching and exhortation; laziness is the rule even though there are plenty of fertile acres to till; individual wealth or comfort is rare even though the Indian has as good a chance to fill his barns and own his Ford as his white neighbor. Superintendent Hoertz of the Sioux mission repeats an Indian's characterization of his race: "Indians are poor farmers, fair stock men, and excellent travelers."¹

¹ *American Missionary*, February, 1920, p. 594.

The second handicap is the reservation system. It is true that the Indians have a chance to prosper under the present scheme, but they will never prosper until they are compelled to prosper. That is to say, the Indian will not cultivate a hundred acres as long as he can live from ten. When he is put on his own resources, when he no longer can fall back upon the arm of Uncle Sam, when he must either work hard or starve he will probably work. But undoubtedly many would starve, especially among the older generation. It is not only the proud young Sioux who has graduated from the Pierre High School who feels his grievance against the government and insists upon freedom from the reservation system; it is not only the humanitarians, who meet at Lake Mohonk to discuss the Indian's problems, who petition the government for a change; the missionaries who have been among the natives for forty years are convinced that economic and physical salvation will not come until the Indian is a free citizen of the United States and not a member of a supervised tribe.

These recent figures, indicating the extent to which the red men are being reached today, come from the United States Census Bureau:

	Organizations	Members
Seventh Day Adventists.....	1	18
Northern Baptist Convention.....	7	578
Southern Baptist Convention.....	112	5,661
Congregational churches.....	22	1,240
Latter Day Saints		
Church of Jesus Christ.....	2	760
Reorganized church.....	1	55
General Conference of Mennonites.....	8	271
Mennonite Brethren church.....	1	54
Methodist Episcopal church.....	17	1,357
Wesleyan Methodist Connection.....	1	61
African Methodist Episcopal.....	1	50
Methodist Episcopal South.....	72	2,839
Presbyterian church in U.S.A.....	65	4,298
Cumberland Presbyterian.....	12	219
United Presbyterian.....	1	104
Presbyterian church in the United States.....	11	429
Reformed Presbyterian Synod.....	1	100
Protestant Episcopal church.....	80	4,051
Reformed church in America.....	5	958
Reformed church in the United States.....	1	23
Christian Reformed church.....	1	102
Roman Catholic church.....	100	26,402
Volunteers of America.....	1	500*

* Bureau of the Census: *Religious Bodies* (1916), I, 78-82.

Wide though the reach of Indian missions may be, there are still larger areas to be cultivated intensively. It is estimated by those who have recently made a survey of the entire Indian situation that there are almost fifty thousand natives who are still pagans, and there are twice that number in addition who are not claimed as members by any church.¹ If the reservation system should continue for years, the churches will doubtless appropriate large sums for the more adequate handling of the Indian problem. If the reservation system is abandoned the Indians will intermarry with the whites, they will become lost in our population, and the future of Indian churches, as separate churches, will be unimportant. The prospect of a discontinuance of the present government policy in the immediate future is not bright, however, and the new plans of the Interchurch World Movement call for the establishment of an Indian university at Wichita, Kansas. The plan is to use Robert College as a model and to bring to this school Indians from all of the one hundred and fifty tribes in the land, in order that they may be properly trained for leadership among their own people.² This plan is not unlike that of Eleazar Wheelock, but it is likely that under modern conditions the success would be greater. Certain it is that the one thing needed above all else in our Indian fields is that there shall be native workers of ability, education, and moral stamina. In a large number of the missions the leadership of the local church is entirely in charge of a native who has been elected pastor; his theological preparation has seldom been more than an elementary correspondence course, and very often it has been nothing more than the ability to read the Bible and to speak glibly. He carries on his regular work during the week and gives almost no time to his pastoral duties. There are superintendents, who come in now and then and give advice and encouragement, but it is still true that such a superintendent may have a circuit of five hundred miles which he must cover on horseback. If the reservation is to remain, there may still be hope for the Indian, but only if a specialized ministry is introduced.

¹ *American Missionary*, December, 1919, p. 486; *The Interchurch Bulletin* (Atlantic City, 1920), V (No. 5), 3.

² *Interchurch Newsletter* (New York, 1919), I (No. 12), 5.

As many native workers must be used as possible, but without a wide knowledge of the bigger things in life, such as may be inspired through a higher education carefully supervised, the native workers will never get the Indian out of the economic rut in which he is. All along, the church has tried to civilize the Indian as well as Christianize him, but the financial handicap has always been so large that the human tools could not be supplied. It may be that in these days of dizzy dreams of wealth for the church the means will yet be supplied for really saving the Indian.